

Becoming a World Power

1872–1912

SECTION 1 The Imperialist Vision

SECTION 2 The Spanish-American War

SECTION 3 New American Diplomacy

A tugboat tows the battleship USS Ohio through the recently completed Panama Canal, July 1915.

1878

- U.S. signs treaty with Samoa to use Pago Pago harbor

Hayes
1877–1881



Garfield
1881



Arthur
1881–1885



Cleveland
1885–1889



B. Harrison
1889–1893



Cleveland
1893–1897



1893

- Americans overthrow Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii

U.S. PRESIDENTS

U.S. EVENTS

WORLD EVENTS

1872

1874

- Britain annexes Fiji Islands

1882

1882

- Germany, Austria, and Italy form Triple Alliance

1892

1889

- First Pan-American conference is held

1894

- Sino-Japanese War breaks out

MAKING CONNECTIONS

How Are Empires Built?

International economic and military competition convinced the United States it must become a world power. In the late 1800s, the United States increased its trade and military presence in East Asia and Latin America, and by the early 1900s, it had created an American empire.

- *Why do you think the United States focused on East Asia and Latin America?*
- *What factors make a nation a world power?*

1898

- U.S. declares war on Spain

McKinley
1897–1901



T. Roosevelt
1901–1909



1904

- Panama Canal construction begins
- Roosevelt Corollary is issued

Taft
1909–1913



1902

1912

1899

- John Hay sends Open Door notes

1900

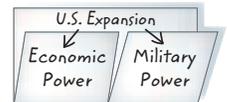
- Boxer Rebellion begins in China

1904

- Russo-Japanese War begins

FINALS

Taking Notes Create a Concept-Map Book Foldable to help you take basic notes about the relationship between economic and military power. As you read the chapter, write details under each tab and be careful to note the years in which events and developments occurred.



History **ONLINE Chapter Overview**
Visit glencoe.com to preview Chapter 7.

Section 1

The Imperialist Vision

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Economics and Society In the late 1800s, many Americans wanted the United States to expand its military and economic power overseas.

Content Vocabulary

- imperialism (p. 262)
- protectorate (p. 262)

Academic Vocabulary

- expansion (p. 263)
- conference (p. 267)

People and Events to Identify

- Anglo-Saxonism (p. 264)
- Matthew C. Perry (p. 265)
- Queen Liliuokalani (p. 266)
- Pan-Americanism (p. 267)

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the development of the United States as a world power, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

The Imperialist Vision
I. Building Support for Imperialism
A.
B.
C.
II.
A.
B.

During the late 1800s, the desire to find new markets, increase trade, and build a powerful navy caused the United States to become more involved in international affairs.

Building Support for Imperialism

MAIN Idea A desire for world markets and belief in the superiority of Anglo-Saxon culture led the United States to assert itself as a world power.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you remember what role George Washington thought the United States should play in world affairs? Read to learn why Americans' opinions changed in the 1880s.

In the years immediately following the Civil War, most Americans showed little interest in expanding their nation's territory outside the United States or increasing its international influence. Instead, they focused on reconstructing the South, building up the nation's industries, and settling the West. Beginning in the 1880s, however, economic and military competition from other nations, as well as a growing feeling of cultural superiority, convinced many Americans that the United States should become a world power.

A Desire for New Markets

Several European nations were already expanding overseas, a development known as the New Imperialism. **Imperialism** is the economic and political domination of a strong nation over weaker ones. Europeans expanded their power overseas for many reasons. Factories depended on raw materials from all over the world. No country had all of the resources its economy needed. In addition, by the late 1800s, most industrialized countries had placed high tariffs against each other. These tariffs were intended to protect a nation's industries from foreign competition. The tariffs reduced trade between industrialized countries, forcing companies to look for other markets overseas.

At the same time, the growth of investment opportunities in Western Europe had slowed. Most of the factories, railroads, and mines that Europe's economy needed had been built. Increasingly, Europeans began looking overseas for places to invest their capital. They started to invest in industries located in other countries, particularly in Africa and Asia.

To protect their investments, European nations began exerting control over those territories. Some areas became colonies. Many others became protectorates. In a **protectorate**, the imperial power

Causes of American Imperialism

American imperialism had three main causes:

1. The belief in the superiority of American culture
2. The belief that the nation needed a large navy for security, with bases overseas
3. The belief that the economy needed overseas markets

1. ANGLO-SAXONISM

"The work which the English race began when it colonized North America is destined to go on until every land . . . that is not already the seat of an old civilization shall become English in its language, in its religion, in political habits and traditions, and to a predominant extent in the blood of its people."

—John Fiske, quoted in *The Expansionists of 1898*



2. MILITARY BASES

"... [T]he ships of war of the United States, in war, will be like land birds, unable to fly far from their own shores. To provide resting-places for them, where they can coal and repair, would be one of the first duties of a government proposing to itself the development of the power of the nation at sea. . . ."

—Alfred Thayer Mahan, quoted in *Alfred T. Mahan on Sea Power, 1890*

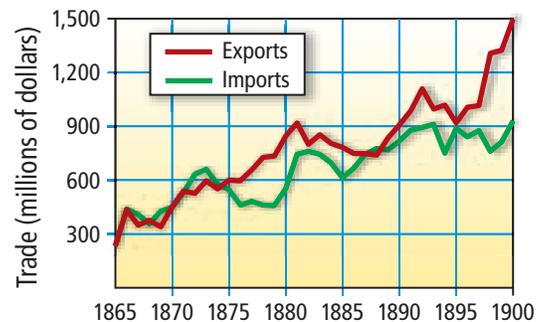


3. OVERSEAS MARKETS

"[W]e are raising more than we can consume, . . . making more than we can use. Therefore we must find new markets for our produce. . . ."

—Alfred Beveridge, quoted in *The Meaning of the Times and Other Speeches*

Exports and Imports, 1865–1900



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*.

DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Interpreting** Based on the quote above, how do you think Alfred Beveridge would use the data shown in the graph to support his argument?
2. **Comparing** What is the difference between Fiske's support for expanding American power overseas and Mahan's support for establishing military bases overseas?

allowed the local rulers to stay in control and protected them against rebellions and invasion. In exchange, the local rulers usually had to accept advice from the Europeans on how to govern their countries.

The United States noticed the **expansion** of European power overseas. As the United States industrialized, many Americans took an interest in the new imperialism. Until the late 1800s, the United States had expanded by settling more territory in North America. Now, with settlers finally filling up the western frontier, many Americans concluded that the nation

needed new overseas markets to keep its economy strong.

A Feeling of Superiority

In addition to economic concerns, certain other key ideas convinced many Americans to encourage their nation's expansion overseas. Many supporters of Social Darwinism argued that nations competed with each other politically, economically, and militarily, and that only the strongest would survive. To them, this idea justified increasing American influence abroad.

Many Americans, such as the well-known writer and historian John Fiske, took this idea even further. Fiske argued that English-speaking nations had superior character, ideas, and systems of government.

C Fiske's ideas, known as **Anglo-Saxonism**, were popular in Britain and the United States. Many Americans linked it with the idea of Manifest Destiny. They believed the nation's destiny had been to expand westward to the Pacific Ocean. Now they believed the United States was destined to expand overseas and spread its civilization to other people.

Another influential advocate of Anglo-Saxonism was Josiah Strong, a popular American minister in the late 1800s. Strong linked Anglo-Saxonism to Christian missionary ideas. His ideas influenced many Americans. "The Anglo-Saxon," Strong declared, "[is] divinely commissioned to be, in a peculiar sense, his brother's keeper." By linking missionary work with Anglo-Saxonism, Strong convinced many Americans to support an expansion of American power overseas.

Building a Modern Navy

As imperialism and Anglo-Saxonism gained support, the United States became increasingly assertive in foreign affairs. Three international crises illustrated this new approach. In 1888 the country risked war to prevent Germany from taking control of Samoa in the South Pacific. Three years later, when a mob in Chile attacked American sailors in the port of Valparaíso, the United States threatened to go to war unless Chile paid reparations. Then, in 1895, the United States backed Venezuela against Great Britain in a border dispute with British Guiana. After Britain rejected an American ultimatum, many newspapers and members of Congress called for war. All three crises were eventually resolved peacefully.

As Americans became increasingly willing to risk war to defend American interests overseas, support for building a large modern navy began to grow. Supporters argued that if the United States did not build up its navy and acquire bases overseas, European nations would shut it out of foreign markets.

Captain Alfred T. Mahan, an officer in the U.S. Navy who taught at the Naval War College, best expressed this argument. In 1890 Mahan published his lectures in a book called *The*

Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783. In this book Mahan pointed out that many prosperous peoples in the past, such as the British and Dutch, had built large fleets of merchant ships to trade with the world. He then suggested that a nation also needed a large navy to protect its merchant ships and to defend its right to trade with other countries.

Mahan's book became a best-seller, helping to build public support for a big navy. Two powerful senators, Henry Cabot Lodge and Albert J. Beveridge, pushed for constructing a new navy. In the executive branch, Benjamin Tracy, secretary of the navy under President Harrison, and John D. Long, secretary of the navy under President McKinley, strongly supported Mahan's ideas.

W By the 1890s, several different ideas had come together in the United States. Business leaders wanted new markets overseas. Anglo-Saxonism had convinced many Americans of their destiny to dominate the world. Growing European imperialism threatened America's security. Combined with Mahan's theories, these ideas convinced Congress to authorize the construction of a large, modern navy.

Reading Check **Summarizing** How did Americans' opinions about overseas expansion change in the late 1800s?

PRIMARY SOURCE

Perry Arrives in Japan

In 1853 Japan was a closed society. Its rulers had deliberately ended contact with the outside world, permitting only a small amount of trade with the Dutch and the Chinese. They were largely unaware of the changes the industrial revolution had brought to Europe and the United States. Perry's black steamships, belching smoke, and moving without any visible sails, were something the Japanese had never seen before.

The Japanese had cannons and guns, but Perry's ships carried 65 large cannons—a staggering number that represented immense power—and a direct threat to Japan's many coastal castles and towns. Perry's arrival carried different meanings for people living in the two countries, as shown in the two images to the right—one from Japan and the other from the United States.

American Expansion in the Pacific

MAIN Idea The desire for new markets led to trade with Japan and the annexation of Hawaii.

HISTORY AND YOU What products do you use that are made in Japan? Read how the United States and Japan first became trading partners.

From the earliest days of the Republic, Americans had expanded their nation by moving westward. When Americans began looking overseas for new markets in the 1800s, therefore, they naturally tended to look toward the Pacific. Even before imperialist ideas became popular, American businesses had begun sending ships to trade in East Asia.

Perry Opens Japan

Many American business leaders believed that the United States would benefit from trade with Japan, as well as with China. Japan's rulers, however, who believed that excessive contact with the West would destroy their culture, allowed only the Chinese and Dutch to trade with their nation. In 1852, after receiving

several petitions from Congress, President Millard Fillmore decided to force Japan to trade with the United States. He ordered Commodore **Matthew C. Perry** to take a naval expedition to Japan to negotiate a trade treaty.

On July 8, 1853, four American warships under Perry's command entered Edo Bay (today known as Tokyo Bay). The display of American technology and firepower impressed the Japanese, who had never before seen steamships. Realizing that they could not resist modern Western technology and weapons, the Japanese agreed to sign the Treaty of Kanagawa. In addition to granting the United States permission to trade at two ports in Japan, the treaty called for peace between the two countries; promised help for any American ships and sailors shipwrecked off the Japanese coast; and gave American ships permission to buy supplies such as wood, water, food, and coal in the Japanese ports.

The American decision forcing Japan to open trade played an important role in Japanese history. Japanese leaders concluded that it was time to remake their society. They adopted Western technology and launched their own industrial revolution. By the 1890s, the Japanese had a powerful navy and had begun building their own empire in Asia.

► American painter James Evans entitled his work "Commodore Perry Carrying the Gospel of God to the Heathen, 1853."

W

▼ This Japanese color print depicts one artist's perspective of Perry's "black ships" that arrived in Japan in 1853.



Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Comparing** What elements did both the American and Japanese artists depict the same way? Which were different?
- 2. Making Inferences** What impression of the Americans does the Japanese image convey? What is the American painting communicating about Perry's mission?

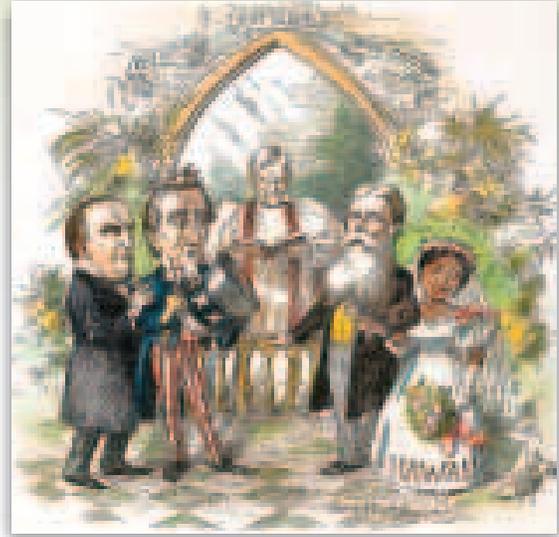
People IN HISTORY

Queen Liliuokalani 1838–1917

Queen Liliuokalani was the last ruling monarch of the Hawaiian Islands. A group of white sugar planters had forced her predecessor to accept a new constitution that minimized the power of the monarchy, gave voting rights to Americans and Europeans, and denied voting rights to most Hawaiians and all Asians.

As queen, Liliuokalani was determined to regain royal power and reduce the power of foreigners. On January 14, 1893, she issued a new constitution, which restored the power of the monarchy and the rights of the Hawaiian people. In response, a group of planters led by Sanford B. Dole launched a revolt. Under protest, Liliuokalani surrendered her throne on January 17. After supporters led a revolt in an attempt to restore her to power in 1895, Liliuokalani was placed under house arrest for several months. After her release, she lived out her days in Washington Palace in Honolulu.

Why did sugar planters lead a revolt against Queen Liliuokalani?



▲ Sanford B. Dole gives Hawaii, represented as the bride, to Uncle Sam.

 For an example of American views on annexing Hawaii read "President Harrison on Hawaiian Annexation" on page R51 in **Documents in American History.**

Annexing Hawaii

As trade with Asia grew during the 1800s, Americans began seeking ports where they could refuel and resupply while crossing the Pacific Ocean. Pago Pago, in the Samoan Islands, had one of the finest harbors in the South Pacific. In 1878 the United States negotiated permission to open a base there.

More important was Hawaii. Whaling ships and merchant vessels crossing the Pacific often stopped there to rest and to take on supplies. In 1819 missionaries from New England arrived in Hawaii. American settlers found that sugarcane grew well in Hawaii's climate and soil. By the mid-1800s, businessmen had established many plantations on the islands.

A severe recession struck Hawaii in 1872. Three years later, worried that the economic crisis might force the Hawaiians to turn to the British or French for help, the United States signed a treaty exempting Hawaiian sugar from tariffs. When the treaty came up for renewal several years later, the Senate insisted that Hawaii grant the United States exclusive rights to a naval base at Pearl Harbor.

The treaty led to a boom in the Hawaiian sugar industry and wealth for the planters. In 1887 prominent planters pressured the Hawaiian king into accepting a constitution

that limited the king's authority. As tensions mounted between the planters and Hawaiians, Congress passed a new tariff in 1890 that gave subsidies to sugar producers in the United States. The subsidies made Hawaiian sugar more expensive than American sugar. Unable to sell much sugar, planters concluded that the only way to increase sales was to have Hawaii become part of the United States.

In 1891 **Queen Liliuokalani** ascended the Hawaiian throne. Liliuokalani disliked the influence that American settlers had gained in Hawaii. In January 1893 she tried to impose a new constitution reasserting her authority as ruler of Hawaii. In response, a group of planters tried to overthrow the monarchy. Supported by the marines from the *USS Boston*, they forced the queen to step down. Then they set up a provisional government and asked the United States to annex Hawaii.

President Cleveland strongly opposed imperialism. He withdrew the annexation treaty from the Senate and tried to return Liliuokalani to power. Hawaii's new leaders refused to restore the queen and decided to wait until Cleveland left office. Five years later, the United States annexed Hawaii.

 **Reading Check Explaining** How did the search for new markets push the United States to become a world power?

Diplomacy in Latin America

MAIN Idea The United States worked to increase trade with Latin America.

HISTORY AND YOU What products have you used that come from Latin America? Read to learn how the United States tried to expand its trade relations with Latin America.

The Pacific was not the only region where the United States sought to increase its influence in the 1800s. It also focused on Latin America. Although the United States bought raw materials from this region, Latin Americans bought most of their manufactured goods from Europe. American business leaders and government officials wanted to increase the sale of American products to the region. They also wanted the Europeans to understand that the United States was the dominant power in the region.

James G. Blaine, who served as secretary of state in two administrations in the 1880s, led early efforts to expand American influence in Latin America. “What we want,” Blaine explained, “are the markets of these neighbors of ours that lie to the south of us. . . . With these markets secured new life would be given to our manufacturers, the product of the western farmer would be in demand, the reasons for and inducements to strikers, with all their attendant evils, would cease.” Blaine proposed that the United States invite the Latin American nations to a **conference** in Washington, D.C. The conference would discuss ways in which the American nations could work together to support peace and to increase trade. The idea that the United States and Latin America should work together came to be called **Pan-Americanism**.

On October 2, 1889, Washington, D.C., hosted the first modern Pan-American conference, which all Latin American nations except the Dominican Republic attended. Blaine had two goals for the conference. First, he wanted to create a customs union between Latin America and the United States. He also wanted to create a system for American nations to work out their disputes peacefully.

A customs union would require all of the American nations to reduce their tariffs against each other and to treat each other equally in trade. Blaine hoped that a customs union would turn the Latin Americans away from European products and toward American products. He also hoped that a common system for settling disputes would keep the Europeans from meddling in American affairs.

Although the warm reception they received in the United States impressed the Latin American delegates to the conference, they rejected both of Blaine’s ideas. They did agree, however, to create the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, an organization that worked to promote cooperation among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. In 1920 the name was changed to the International Bureau of the American Republics. This organization was later known as the Pan-American Union and is today called the Organization of American States (OAS).

Reading Check **Summarizing** How did Secretary of State Blaine attempt to increase American influence in Latin America?

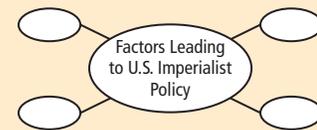
Section 1 REVIEW

Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: imperialism, protectorate, Anglo-Saxonism, Matthew C. Perry, Queen Liliuokalani, Pan-Americanism.

Main Ideas

- 2. Listing** Use a graphic organizer to list the factors that led the United States to adopt an imperialist policy in the 1890s.



- 3. Describing** Why and how did the Americans force the Japanese to trade with the United States?
- 4. Explaining** Why did Secretary of State James G. Blaine convene the Pan-American conference in 1889?

Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** Do you think the United States should have supported the planters in their attempt to overthrow Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii? Why or why not?
- 6. Evaluating** How did trade with the United States change Japanese society?
- 7. Analyzing Visuals** Study the two images of Perry’s ship on page 265. How do the artists’ perspectives vary? Do you think the artists show any bias in their representations? Why or why not?

Writing About History

- 8. Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you are living in the United States in the 1890s. Write a letter to the president persuading him to support or oppose an imperialist policy for the United States.

History ONLINE

Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Section 2

The Spanish-American War

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Trade, War, and Migration The United States defeated Spain in a war, acquired new overseas territories, and became an imperial power.

Content Vocabulary

- yellow journalism (p. 269)
- autonomy (p. 270)
- jingoism (p. 271)

Academic Vocabulary

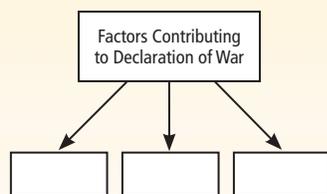
- intervene (p. 270)
- volunteer (p. 272)

People and Events to Identify

- José Martí (p. 268)
- William Randolph Hearst (p. 269)
- Joseph Pulitzer (p. 269)
- Emilio Aguinaldo (p. 272)
- Platt Amendment (p. 274)
- Foraker Act (p. 275)

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the Spanish-American War, complete a graphic organizer like the one below by listing the circumstances that contributed to war with Spain.



During the Spanish-American War, the United States defeated Spanish troops in Cuba and the Philippines. Afterward, the United States annexed the Philippines and became an imperial power.

The Coming of War

MAIN Idea In support of the Cuban rebellion and in retaliation for the loss of the USS *Maine*, the United States declared war on Spain.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you remember what led the American colonists to declare their independence from Britain? Read about another colony that fought for independence from a colonial ruler.

By 1898 Cuba and Puerto Rico were Spain's last remaining colonies in the Western Hemisphere. Cubans had periodically revolted against Spanish rule, and many Americans regarded the Spanish as tyrants. Ultimately, the United States issued a declaration of war. Although the fighting lasted only a few months, the "splendid little war," as Secretary of State John Hay described it, dramatically altered the position of the United States on the world stage.

The Cuban Rebellion Begins

Cuba was one of Spain's oldest colonies in the Americas. Its sugarcane plantations generated considerable wealth for Spain and produced nearly one-third of the world's sugar in the mid-1800s. Until Spain abolished slavery in 1886, about one-third of the Cuban population was enslaved and forced to work for wealthy landowners on the plantations.

In 1868 Cuban rebels declared independence and launched a guerrilla war against Spanish authorities. Lacking internal support, the rebellion collapsed a decade later. Many Cuban rebels then fled to the United States. One of the exiled leaders was **José Martí**, a writer and poet. While living in New York City in the 1880s, Martí brought together Cuban exile groups living in the United States. The groups raised funds, purchased weapons, and trained troops in preparation for an invasion of Cuba.

By the early 1890s, the United States and Cuba had become closely linked economically. Cuba exported much of its sugar to the United States, and Americans had invested approximately \$50 million in Cuba's sugar plantations, mines, and railroads. These economic ties created a crisis in 1894, when the United States imposed a new tariff on sugar that devastated Cuba's economy. With Cuba in financial

Causes of the Spanish-American War

The Spanish-American War had four main causes:

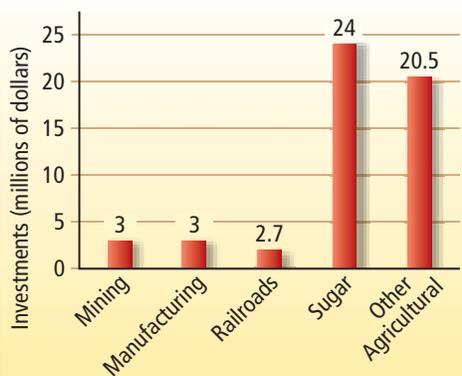
1. The Cuban Rebellion against Spain
2. American desire to protect their investments in Cuba
3. Yellow journalism that intensified public anger at Spain
4. The explosion of the USS *Maine*

CUBANS REBEL AGAINST SPAIN



◀ Spanish oppression of the Cuban people triggered a rebellion that earned the sympathy of many Americans, some of whom began providing arms and money to the rebels.

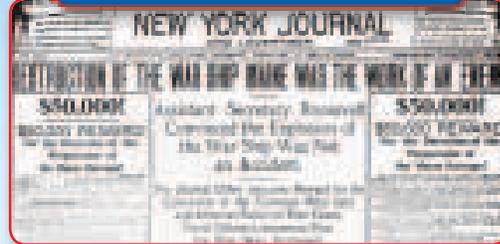
U.S. Investment in Cuba, 1897



Source: *America's Stake in International Investments*.

◀ With \$30 to \$50 million invested in Cuba and nearly \$100 million in annual trade, American business leaders wanted Spain out of Cuba and an end to the rebellion.

YELLOW JOURNALISM



▲ Dramatic and emotional stories in newspapers owned by Hearst and Pulitzer described Spanish atrocities in Cuba and enraged the American people, some of whom began to call for war.

THE MAINE EXPLODES, 1898



▲ President McKinley sent the battleship *Maine* to Cuba to help Americans evacuate. When the ship exploded, an enraged nation blamed Spain, and "Remember the *Maine*!" became the battle cry for war.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Interpreting** What do you think contributed to American sympathy with the Cubans?
2. **Identifying Central Issues** What role did economics play in the lead-up to war with Spain?

distress, Martí's followers launched a new rebellion in February 1895. Although Martí died during the fighting, the rebels seized control of eastern Cuba, declared independence, and formally established the Republic of Cuba in September 1895.

America Supports Cuba

When the uprising in Cuba began, President Grover Cleveland declared the United States neutral. Outside the White House, however, many people openly supported the rebels. Some citizens compared the Cubans' struggle to the American Revolution. A few sympathetic Americans even began smuggling guns from Florida to the Cuban rebels.

What caused most Americans to support the rebels were the stories of Spanish atrocities reported in two of the nation's major newspapers, the *New York Journal* and the *New York World*. The *Journal*, owned by **William Randolph Hearst**, and *The World*, owned by **Joseph Pulitzer**, competed with each other to increase their circulation. The *Journal* reported outrageous stories of the Spanish feeding Cuban prisoners to sharks and dogs. Not to be outdone, *The World* described Cuba as a place with "blood on the roadsides, blood in the fields, blood on the doorsteps, blood, blood, blood!" This kind of sensationalist reporting, in which writers often exaggerated and even made up stories to attract readers, became known as **yellow journalism**.

Although the press invented sensational stories, Cubans indeed suffered horribly. The Spanish sent nearly 200,000 troops to the island to put down the rebellion and appointed General Valeriano Weyler as governor. Weyler's harsh policies quickly earned him the nickname "El Carnicero" ("The Butcher").

The Cuban rebels staged hit-and-run raids, burned plantations and sugar mills, tore up railroad tracks, and attacked supply depots. Knowing that many American businesses had investments in Cuba, the rebels hoped that the destruction of American property would lead to American intervention in the war.

To prevent Cuban villagers from helping the rebels, Weyler herded hundreds of thousands of rural men, women, and children into "reconcentration camps," where tens of thousands died of starvation and disease. News reports of these camps enraged Americans.

Calls for War

R In 1897 Republican William McKinley became president of the United States. The new president did not want to **intervene** in

the war, believing it would cost too many lives and hurt the economy. In September 1897, he asked the Spanish if the United States could help negotiate an end to the conflict. He made it clear that if the war did not end soon, the United States might have to intervene. **R**

Spain removed Weyler from power and offered the Cubans **autonomy**—the right to their own government—but only if Cuba remained part of the Spanish empire. The Cuban rebels refused to negotiate.

Spain's concessions enraged many Spanish loyalists in Cuba. In January 1898, the loyalists rioted in Havana. Worried that Americans in Cuba might be attacked, McKinley sent the battleship USS *Maine* to Havana in case the Americans had to be evacuated.

On February 9, 1898, the *New York Journal* printed a letter intercepted by a Cuban agent. Written by Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, the Spanish ambassador to the United States, the letter described McKinley as "weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd." The nation erupted in fury over the insult.

Then, on the evening of February 15, 1898, while the *Maine* sat in Havana Harbor, it was ripped apart by an explosion and sank. No one is sure why the *Maine* exploded. An investigation

PRIMARY SOURCE

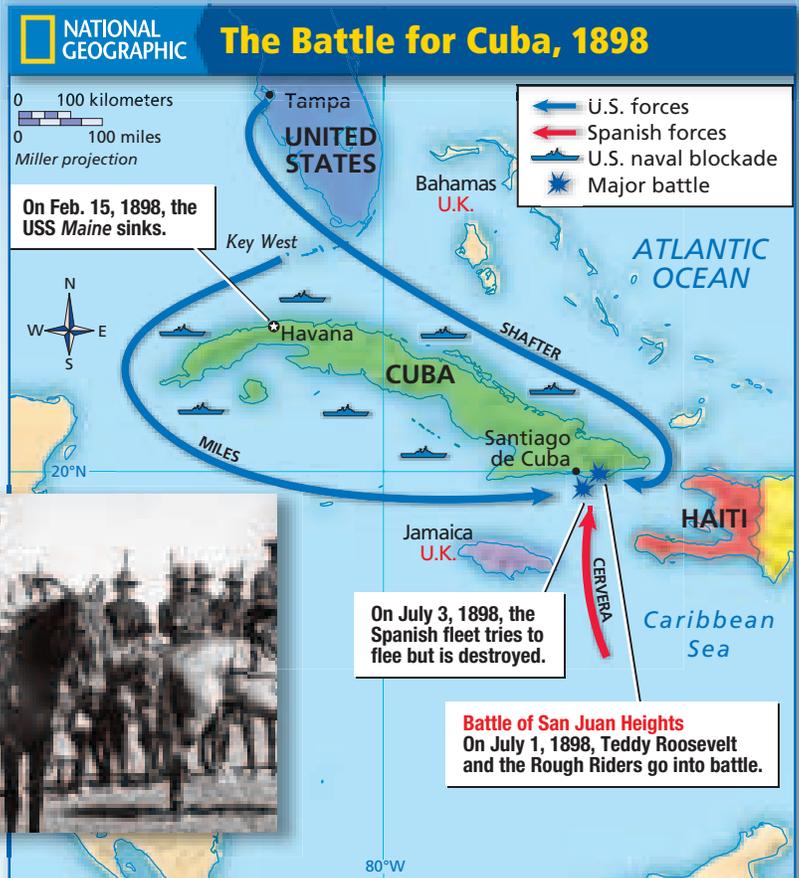
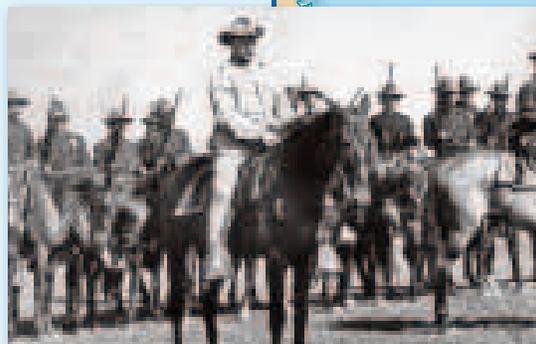
The Spanish-American War

When the United States declared war on Spain, the U.S. Army had approximately 25,000 soldiers. Spain had roughly 200,000 in Cuba alone. To expand its forces, the government called into service soldiers from the state militias and also enlisted 20,000 volunteers in the army. Among those volunteers was the First Volunteer Cavalry, nicknamed the Rough Riders, under the command of Colonels Leonard Wood and Theodore Roosevelt.

U.S. Deaths in the Spanish-American War



Source: *The Nystrom Atlas of United States History*.



in the 1970s suggested that the spontaneous combustion of a coal bunker aboard ship caused the explosion, but a study in the 1990s concluded that a mine could have done the damage. In 1898, however, many Americans believed it was an act of sabotage by Spanish agents. “Remember the *Maine!*” became the rallying cry for those demanding a declaration of war against Spain.

In response, Congress authorized McKinley to spend \$50 million for war preparations. McKinley faced tremendous pressure to go to war. Within the Republican Party, **jingoism**—aggressive nationalism—was very strong. Many Democrats also demanded war, and Republicans feared that if McKinley did not go to war, the Democrats would win the elections in 1900. Finally, on April 11, 1898, McKinley asked Congress to authorize the use of force.

On April 19, Congress proclaimed Cuba independent, demanded that Spain withdraw from the island, and authorized the president to use armed force if necessary. In response, on April 24, Spain declared war on the United States. For the first time in 50 years, the United States was at war with another nation.

Reading Check **Examining** What conditions led to the Cuban rebellion in 1895?

A War on Two Fronts

MAIN Idea The United States fought and defeated Spain in both the Caribbean and the Pacific.

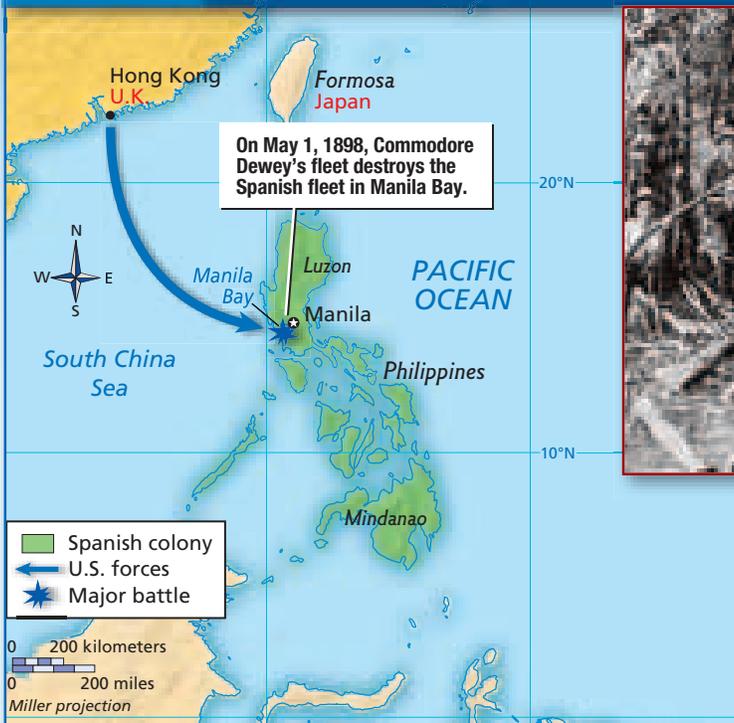
HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever had to plan a trip or an event? Read to learn about the problems American troops encountered in the war of 1898.

The United States Navy was ready for war with Spain. The navy’s North Atlantic Squadron blockaded Cuba, and Commodore George Dewey, commander of the American naval squadron based in Hong Kong, was ordered to attack the Spanish fleet based in the Philippines. The Philippines was a Spanish colony, and American naval planners wanted to prevent the Spanish fleet based there from sailing east to attack the United States.

The Battle of Manila Bay

A short time after midnight, on May 1, 1898, Dewey’s squadron entered Manila Bay in the Philippines. As dawn broke, four American ships in the squadron opened fire and rapidly destroyed all eight of the severely outgunned Spanish warships.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC The Battle for the Philippines



▲ U.S. soldiers fight near Manila while Emilio Aguinaldo, to the right, leads a revolt against the Spanish.



Analyzing GEOGRAPHY

- Location** Where did the major battles take place?
- Human-Environment Interaction** How are the geography of Cuba and the Philippines similar? How did this help the Americans?

See [StudentWorks™ Plus](https://www.studentworks.com) or [glencoe.com](https://www.glencoe.com).

Dewey's quick victory took McKinley and his advisers by surprise. The army was not yet ready to send troops to help Dewey. Hastily, the army assembled 20,000 troops to sail from San Francisco to the Philippines. On the way, the Americans also seized the island of Guam, another Spanish possession in the Pacific.

While waiting for the American troops to arrive, Dewey contacted **Emilio Aguinaldo**, a Filipino revolutionary leader who had staged an unsuccessful uprising against the Spanish in 1896. Aguinaldo quickly launched a new rebellion against the Spanish. While the rebels took control of most of the islands, American troops seized the Philippine capital of Manila.

American Forces in Cuba

The Spanish in Cuba were not prepared for war. Tropical diseases and months of fighting rebels had weakened their soldiers. Their warships were old and their crews poorly trained.

C Both sides knew that the war would ultimately be decided at sea. If the United States could defeat the Spanish fleet, Spain would not be able to supply its troops in Cuba. Eventually, they would have to surrender.

The United States Army was not prepared for war either. Although there were many **volunteers**, the army lacked the resources to train and equip them. In many training camps, conditions were so unsanitary that epidemics broke out, and hundreds died—far more than would be killed in battle with the Spanish.

Finally, on June 14, 1898, a force of about 17,000 troops landed east of the city of Santiago, Cuba. The Spanish fleet, well-protected by powerful shore-based guns, occupied Santiago Harbor. American military planners wanted to capture those guns to drive the Spanish fleet out of the harbor and into battle with the American fleet waiting nearby.

Among the American troops advancing toward Santiago was a volunteer cavalry unit from the American west. They were a flamboyant mix of cowboys, miners, and law officers known as the "Rough Riders." Colonel Leonard Wood commanded them. Theodore Roosevelt was second in command.

On July 1, American troops attacked the village of El Caney northeast of Santiago. Another force attacked the San Juan Heights. While one group of soldiers attacked San Juan Hill, the Rough Riders attacked Kettle Hill. After

seizing Kettle Hill, Roosevelt and his men assisted in the capture of San Juan Hill.

The all-black 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments accompanied the Rough Riders up Kettle Hill. Roughly one-fourth of the American troops fighting in Cuba were African Americans, four of whom received the Medal of Honor for their bravery during the war.

The Spanish commander in Santiago panicked after the American victories at El Caney and the San Juan Heights and ordered the Spanish fleet in the harbor to flee. As they exited the harbor on July 3, American warships attacked them, sinking or beaching every Spanish vessel. Two weeks later, the Spanish troops in Santiago surrendered. Soon afterwards, American troops occupied the nearby Spanish colony of Puerto Rico as well.

 **Comparing** How prepared was the U.S. Army as compared to the U.S. Navy to fight a war against Spain?

Debates

IN HISTORY

Should the United States Annex the Philippines?

In the Treaty of Paris of 1898, Spain ceded control of the Philippine Islands to the United States. Americans were divided over whether the United States should give the Filipinos their independence or become an imperial power by annexing the Philippines. Supporters of annexation argued the United States would benefit economically and the Filipinos would benefit from exposure to American values and principles. Opponents, however, considered it hypocritical for the United States, with its own colonial past, to become an imperial nation.

An American Empire

MAIN Idea In defeating Spain, the United States acquired an overseas empire.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you think Puerto Rico should become the 51st state? Read how Puerto Rico became an American territory.

As American and Spanish leaders met to discuss the terms for a peace treaty, Americans debated what to do about their newly acquired lands. Cuba would receive its independence as promised, and Spain had agreed to the U.S. annexation of Guam and Puerto Rico. The big question was what to do with the Philippines. The United States faced a difficult choice—remain true to its republican ideals or become an imperial power that ruled a foreign country without the consent of its people. The issue sparked an intense political debate.

The Debate Over Annexation

Many people who supported annexing the Philippines emphasized the economic and military benefits of taking the islands. They would provide the United States with another Pacific naval base, a stopover on the way to China, and a large market for American goods.

Other supporters believed America had a duty to help “less civilized” peoples. “Surely this Spanish war has not been a grab for empire,” **W** commented a New England minister, “but a heroic effort [to] free the oppressed and to teach the millions of ignorant, debased human beings thus freed how to live.”

Not all Americans supported annexation. Anti-imperialists included William Jennings Bryan, industrialist Andrew Carnegie, social worker Jane Addams, writer Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), and Samuel Gompers, leader of the American Federation of Labor.

YES

Albert J. Beveridge

United States Senator

PRIMARY SOURCE

“The Opposition tells us that we ought not to govern a people without their consent. I answer, The rule of liberty that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. . . . Would not the people of the Philippines prefer the just, humane, civilizing government of this Republic to the savage, bloody rule of pillage and extortion from which we have rescued them?”

—from *The Meaning of the Times*



NO

William Jennings Bryan

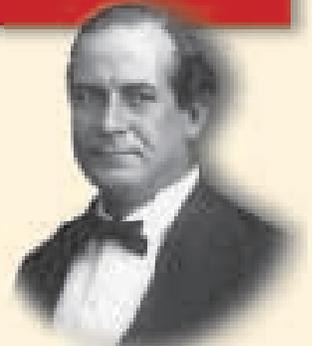
Presidential Candidate

PRIMARY SOURCE

“It is not necessary to own people in order to trade with them. We carry on trade today with every part of the world, and our commerce has expanded more rapidly than the commerce of any European empire. . . . A harbor and coaling station in the Philippines would answer every trade and military necessity and such a concession could have been secured at any time without difficulty.

. . . Imperialism finds no warrant in the Bible. The command ‘Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature’ has no Gatling gun attachment. . . .

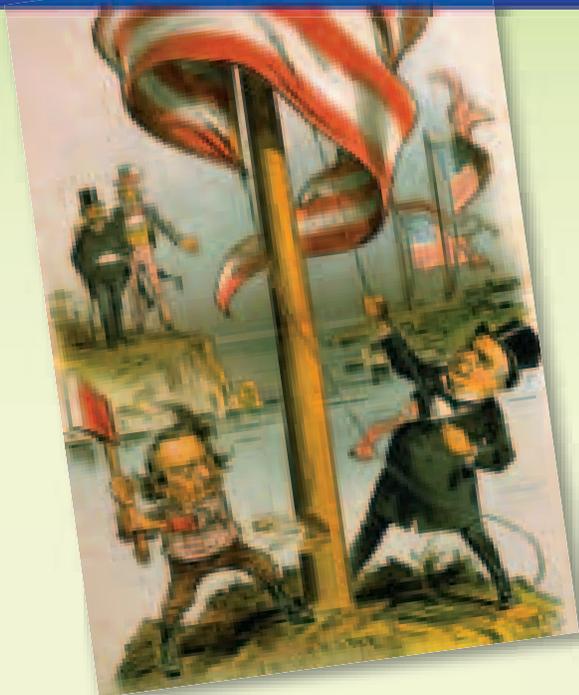
—from *Speeches of William Jennings Bryan*



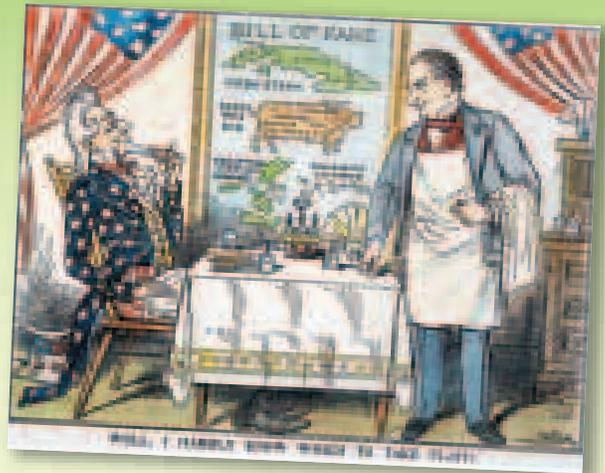
DBQ Document-Based Questions

- 1. Making Inferences** According to Albert Beveridge, why is annexation of the Philippines an honorable decision?
- 2. Recognizing Bias** What does Beveridge think of the people of the Philippines?
- 3. Analyzing** What are William Jennings Bryan’s two main criticisms of imperialism?
- 4. Drawing Conclusions** After studying both sides of the issue, who do you think was right? Explain.

The Debate Over Empire



▲ President McKinley raises the American flag over the Philippines while William Jennings Bryan tries to chop it down.



▲ President McKinley (the waiter) prepares to take Uncle Sam's order. The menu posted on the wall shows three regions of choice: the Cuba steak, the Porto [Puerto] Rico pig; and the Philippines and Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) in the Pacific.

Analyzing VISUALS

- Identifying Central Issues** Based on the cartoon on the left, what do you think McKinley is trying to accomplish? What about Bryan?
- Making Inferences** What does the cartoon on the right suggest that Uncle Sam is going to do? On what basis do you infer that?

History ONLINE
Student Web Activity Visit glencoe.com and complete the activity on American imperialism.

Andrew Carnegie argued that the cost of an empire far outweighed the economic benefits it provided. Gompers worried that competition from cheap Filipino labor would drive down American wages. Addams, Clemens, and others believed imperialism violated American principles. Despite the objections of the anti-imperialists, President McKinley ultimately decided to annex the islands. He later explained his reasoning as follows:

PRIMARY SOURCE

R "And one night late it came to me this way. . . (1) that we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany. . . that would be bad for business and discreditable; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government. . . and (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them."

—*A Diplomatic History of the American People*

On December 10, 1898, the United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris. Under the

treaty, Cuba became an independent nation, and the United States acquired Puerto Rico and Guam and agreed to pay Spain \$20 million for the Philippines. After an intense debate, the Senate ratified the treaty in February 1899. The United States had become an imperial power.

The Platt Amendment

Although the United States had promised to grant Cuba its independence, President McKinley took steps to ensure that Cuba would remain tied to the United States. He allowed the Cubans to prepare a new constitution for their country but attached conditions. The **Platt Amendment**, submitted by Senator Orville Platt, specified the following: (1) Cuba could not make any treaty with another nation that would weaken its independence; (2) Cuba had to allow the United States to buy or lease naval stations in Cuba; (3) Cuba's debts had to be kept low to prevent foreign countries from landing troops to enforce payment; and (4) the United States would have the right to intervene to protect Cuban independence and keep order.

Reluctantly, the Cubans added the amendment to their constitution. The Platt Amendment, which effectively made Cuba an American protectorate, remained in effect until its repeal in 1934.

Governing Puerto Rico

Another pressing question was how to govern Puerto Rico. In 1900 Congress passed the **Foraker Act**, establishing a civil government for the island. The law provided for an elected legislature, but also called for a governor and executive council, to be appointed by the president, who held final authority. Supreme Court rulings subsequently held that Puerto Ricans were not American citizens and so did not possess the constitutional rights of citizens.

Congress gradually allowed Puerto Ricans greater self-government. In 1917 it granted Puerto Ricans American citizenship. Thirty years later, islanders were allowed to elect their own governor. At this time a debate began over whether Puerto Rico should become a state, become independent, or continue as a self-governing commonwealth of the United States. This debate over Puerto Rico's status continues today.

Rebellion in the Philippines

The United States quickly learned that controlling its new empire would not be easy. Emilio Aguinaldo called the American decision to annex his homeland a “violent and aggressive seizure” and ordered his troops to attack American soldiers. The Philippine-American war, or Philippine Insurrection as it was referred to at the time, lasted for more than three years. Approximately 126,000 American soldiers were sent to the Philippines to fight the insurgency. More than 4,300 American soldiers died, either from combat or disease, as did an estimated 50,000–200,000 Filipinos.

To fight the Filipino guerrillas, the United States military adopted many of the same policies that America had condemned Spain for using in Cuba. Reconcentration camps were established to separate Filipino guerrillas from civilians. Consequently, thousands of people died from disease and starvation, just as they had in Cuba.

While American troops fought the guerrillas, the first U.S. civilian governor of the islands, William Howard Taft, tried to win over the Filipinos by improving education, transportation, and health care. Railroads and bridges were built. Public schools were set up, and new health-care policies virtually eliminated diseases such as cholera and smallpox. These reforms slowly reduced Filipino hostility.

In March 1901, American troops captured Aguinaldo. A month later, Aguinaldo called on the guerrillas to surrender. On July 4, 1902, the United States declared the war over. Eventually the United States allowed the Filipinos a greater role in governing their own country. By the mid-1930s, they were permitted to elect their own congress and president. Finally, in 1946, the United States granted independence to the Philippines.

 **Explaining** What were the arguments for and against establishing an American empire?

Section 2 REVIEW

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: José Martí, William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, yellow journalism, autonomy, jingoism, Emilio Aguinaldo, Platt Amendment, Foraker Act.

Main Ideas

2. **Explaining** Why did many Americans blame Spain for the explosion of the USS *Maine*?

3. **Identifying** How did the U.S. fight the Spanish-American War on two fronts?

4. **Categorizing** Complete the table by summarizing the effects of the United States annexing lands obtained after the Spanish-American War.

Lands Annexed	Effects

Critical Thinking

5. **Big Ideas** How has the government of Puerto Rico changed since the Foraker Act was passed in 1900?

6. **Evaluating** Why did Filipinos feel betrayed by the U.S. government after the Spanish-American War?

7. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the circle graph on page 270. What caused the most casualties during the war? Explain.

Writing About History

8. **Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you are a Filipino living during the time of the U.S. annexation of the Philippine Islands. Write a journal entry in which you describe your feelings about American control of the islands.

History  **ONLINE**

Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Section 3

New American Diplomacy

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Trade, War, and Migration Under President Theodore Roosevelt, the United States increased its power on the world stage.

Content Vocabulary

- sphere of influence (p. 276)
- Open Door policy (p. 277)
- dollar diplomacy (p. 281)
- guerrilla (p. 283)

Academic Vocabulary

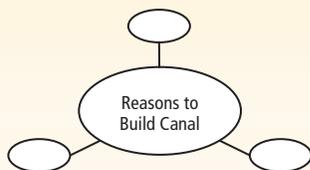
- access (p. 277)
- tension (p. 280)

People and Events to Identify

- Boxer Rebellion (p. 278)
- Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (p. 280)
- Roosevelt Corollary (p. 280)
- Victoriana Huerta (p. 283)
- Pancho Villa (p. 283)

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about American diplomacy complete a graphic organizer by listing the reasons the U.S. wanted a canal through Central America.



Succeeding President McKinley, President Theodore Roosevelt mediated disputes in Asia and Latin America and acquired the Panama Canal Zone. Presidents Taft and Wilson worked to increase American trade and influence in Latin America.

American Diplomacy in Asia

MAIN Idea The United States pursued an Open Door policy to allow all nations access to China's markets.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you remember reading about a trade agreement with Japan in the 1850s? Read to learn about America's efforts to keep trade open with China in the 1900s.

In 1899 the United States was a major power in Asia, with naval bases all across the Pacific. Operating from those bases, the United States Navy—by then the third-largest navy in the world—could exert American power anywhere in East Asia. The nation's primary interest in Asia, however, was not conquest but commerce. Between 1895 and 1900, American exports to China increased fourfold. Although China bought only about two percent of American exports, the vast Chinese markets excited American business leaders, especially those in the textile, oil, and steel industries.

The Open Door Policy

In 1894 war erupted between China and Japan over Korea, which at that time was part of the Chinese empire. Western observers were astonished when Japan easily defeated China's massive military. In the peace treaty, China granted Korea independence and gave Japan territory in Manchuria. The war showed that Japan had mastered Western technology and industry. It also demonstrated that China was far weaker than anyone had thought.

The Russians were concerned about Japan's rising power. They did not want Japan to acquire the territory in Manchuria, because it bordered Russia. Backed by France and Germany, Russia forced Japan to return the Manchurian territory it had acquired. Then, in 1898, Russia demanded China lease the territory to Russia instead.

Leasing a territory meant that it would still belong to China, even though a foreign government would maintain overall control. Soon Germany, France, and Britain demanded "leaseholds" in China as well. Each "leasehold" became the center of a country's **sphere of influence**, an area where a foreign nation controlled economic development such as railroad construction and mining.



What Was the Open Door Policy?

1. Within its sphere of influence, each power agreed not to interfere with any existing business interests or port treaties of other powers.
2. Existing Chinese tariffs would remain unchanged in all spheres of influence and would be collected by the Chinese government.
3. Within each sphere of influence, harbor fees and railroad charges would be the same for all countries, giving no special rates to the countries whose businesses owned and operated the harbors and railroads.



▲ Secretary of State John Hay

W



▲ International soldiers pose in Tianjin after rescuing their besieged delegations during the Boxer Rebellion. The American is second from left.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Interpreting** What do you think Britain was attempting with the locations of their spheres of influence?
2. **Analyzing** Based on the map, which country do you believe had the most influence?

R

Politicians and businessmen in the United States worried about these events. President McKinley and Secretary of State John Hay both supported what they called an **Open Door policy**, in which all countries would be allowed to trade with China. In 1899 Hay sent notes to countries with leaseholds in China asking them not to discriminate against other nations wanting to do business in their sphere of influence. Each of the nations responded by saying they accepted the Open Door policy but would not act on it unless all of the others agreed. Once Hay had received assurances from all of the nations

with leaseholds, he declared that the United States expected the other powers to uphold the policy.

R

The Boxer Rebellion

While foreign countries debated **access** to China's market, secret Chinese societies organized to fight foreign control. Westerners referred to one such group, the Society of Harmonious Fists, as the Boxers. In 1900 the group decided to destroy both the "foreign devils" and their Chinese Christian converts, whom they believed were corrupting Chinese society.

In what became known as the **Boxer Rebellion**, the Boxers, supported by some Chinese troops, besieged foreign embassies in Beijing and Tianjin, killing more than 200 foreigners and taking others prisoner. After the

D German ambassador to China was killed, eight nations—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the United States—declared war on China. A large international force of nearly 50,000 troops, including 3,400 Americans, landed in China to rescue the foreigners and smash the rebellion.

During the crisis, Secretary of State John Hay worked with British diplomats to persuade the other powers not to partition China. In a second set of Open Door notes, Hay convinced the participating powers to accept compensation from China for damages caused by the rebellion. After some discussion, the powers agreed not to break up China into European-controlled colonies. The United States retained access to China's lucrative trade in tea, spices, and silk and maintained an increasingly larger market for its own goods.

Reading Check **Explaining** What was the purpose of the Open Door policy?

Roosevelt's Diplomacy

MAIN Idea Presidents Roosevelt and Taft continued to support a policy of expanding United States influence in foreign countries.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you know of a country that is trying to expand its influence today? Read to find out about expansion of United States influence in the early 1900s.

The election of 1900 once again pitted President McKinley against William Jennings Bryan. Bryan, an anti-imperialist, attacked the Republicans for their support of imperialism in Asia. McKinley, who chose war hero Theodore Roosevelt as his running mate, focused on the country's increased prosperity and ran on the slogan "Four Years More of the Full Dinner Pail." He won the election by a wide margin.

On September 6, 1901, while visiting Buffalo, New York, President McKinley was attacked by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist who opposed all forms of government. Czolgosz fired two shots and hit the president. A few days later, McKinley died from his wounds. Theodore Roosevelt took over the presidency.

PAST & PRESENT

In 1907 President Theodore Roosevelt sent 16 new battleships on a voyage around the world to showcase the nation's ability to project power to any place in the world. Painted white, the ships became known as the "Great White Fleet." The tour made a stop in Japan to demonstrate that the United States would uphold its interests in Asia. Coming so soon after Roosevelt's intervention in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, the visit did not help ease the growing tensions between the United States and Japan.

The use of naval power to send a diplomatic message continues today. Just as the battleship symbolized naval power in 1900, so too today does the aircraft carrier symbolize the power and global reach of the United States Navy. In March 1996, for example, a strike force led by the aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* was sent to the Taiwan Straits. This show of force came after China tested missiles in the area. The carrier sent the message to China that the United States would protect Taiwan from aggression.

1907



Great White Fleet



▲ The Great White Fleet gets underway in December 1907.

◀ The Great White Fleet circumnavigated the globe.

C₁ Theodore Roosevelt, just 42 years old at the time, was the youngest person ever to become president. Republican leaders had asked him to run for vice president because his charisma and status as a war hero would win votes, but they had hoped the relatively powerless position of vice president would keep him from causing political problems. Now they cringed at the thought of him in the White House. Ohio Republican senator Mark Hanna exclaimed, "Now look, that . . . cowboy is president of the United States!"

Roosevelt favored increasing American power on the world stage. He warned Americans not to become "an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond." Roosevelt also accepted some of Anglo-Saxonism's ideas. He believed that the United States had a duty to shape the "less civilized" corners of the earth.

Balancing Power in East Asia

As president, Theodore Roosevelt supported the Open Door policy in China and worked to prevent any single nation from monopolizing trade there. This concern prompted Roosevelt

to help negotiate an end to the war between Japan and Russia that had broken out in 1905. At a peace conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Roosevelt convinced the Russians to recognize Japan's territorial gains and persuaded the Japanese to stop fighting and to seek no further territory. For his efforts in ending the war, Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906.

C₂ In the years after the peace treaty, relations between the United States and Japan grew steadily worse. As the two nations vied for greater influence in Asia, they held each other in check through a series of agreements. They pledged to respect each other's territorial possessions, to uphold the Open Door policy, and to support China's independence.

The Panama Canal

Theodore Roosevelt believed in a strong global military presence. He insisted that displaying American power to the world would make nations think twice about fighting, and thus promote peace. He often expressed this belief with a West African saying, "Speak softly and carry a big stick."

2003

▼ *The aircraft carrier USS Kitty Hawk leaves Yokosuka Naval Base in Japan en route to monitor North Korea.*

MAKING CONNECTIONS

- 1. Comparing** In what ways are the missions of the Great White Fleet and a modern carrier force similar?
- 2. Making Generalizations** Do you think a large navy is a useful tool in diplomacy? Explain your answer. What problems can it cause? What benefits does it bring?

D

Roosevelt's "big stick" policy was perhaps most evident in the Caribbean. There the world witnessed one of the most dramatic acts of his presidency—the acquisition and construction of the Panama Canal. Roosevelt and others believed that having a canal through Central America was vital to American power in the world. A canal would save time and money for both commercial and military shipping.

Acquiring the Canal Zone As early as 1850, the United States and Great Britain had agreed not to build a canal without the other's participation. In 1901 the United States and Great Britain signed the **Hay-Pauncefote Treaty**, which gave the United States the exclusive right to build any proposed canal through Central America.

A French company had begun digging a canal through Panama in 1881. By 1889, however, it abandoned its efforts because of bankruptcy and terrible losses from disease among the workers. The company was reorganized in 1894, but it hoped only to sell its rights to dig the canal.

The United States had long considered two possible canal sites, one through Nicaragua and one through Panama. The French company eased this choice by offering to sell its rights and property in Panama to the United States.

In 1903 Panama was Colombia's most northern province. Secretary of State Hay offered Colombia \$10 million and a yearly rent of \$250,000 for the right to construct the canal and to control a narrow strip of land on either side of it. Considering the price too low and afraid of losing control of Panama, the Colombian government refused the offer.

Panama Revolts Some Panamanians feared losing the commercial benefits of the canal. Panama had opposed Colombian rule since the mid-1800s, and the canal issue added to the **tension**. In addition, the French company remained concerned that the United States would build the canal in Nicaragua instead. The French company's agent, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, and Panamanian officials decided that the only way to ensure the canal would be built was to make their own deal with the United States. Bunau-Varilla arranged for a small army to stage an uprising in Panama.

Meanwhile, to prevent Colombian interference, President Roosevelt ordered U.S. warships to the area.

On November 3, 1903, with ten U.S. warships looming offshore, Bunau-Varilla's forces revolted. Within a few days, the United States recognized Panama's independence, and the two nations soon signed a treaty allowing the canal to be built.

Protesters in the United States and throughout Latin America condemned Roosevelt's actions as unjustifiable aggression. The president countered that he had advanced "the needs of collective civilization" by building a canal that shortened the distance between the Atlantic and the Pacific by about 8,000 nautical miles (14,816 km).

C

The Roosevelt Corollary

By the early 1900s, American officials had become very concerned about the size of the debts Latin American nations owed to European banks. In 1902, after Venezuela defaulted on its debts, Great Britain, Germany, and Italy blockaded Venezuelan ports. The crisis was resolved peacefully after the United States intervened and put pressure on both sides to reach an agreement.

To address the problem, Roosevelt gave an address to Congress in which he declared what came to be known as the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine. The corollary stated that the United States would intervene in Latin American affairs when necessary to maintain economic and political stability in the Western Hemisphere:

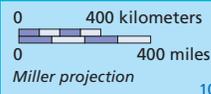
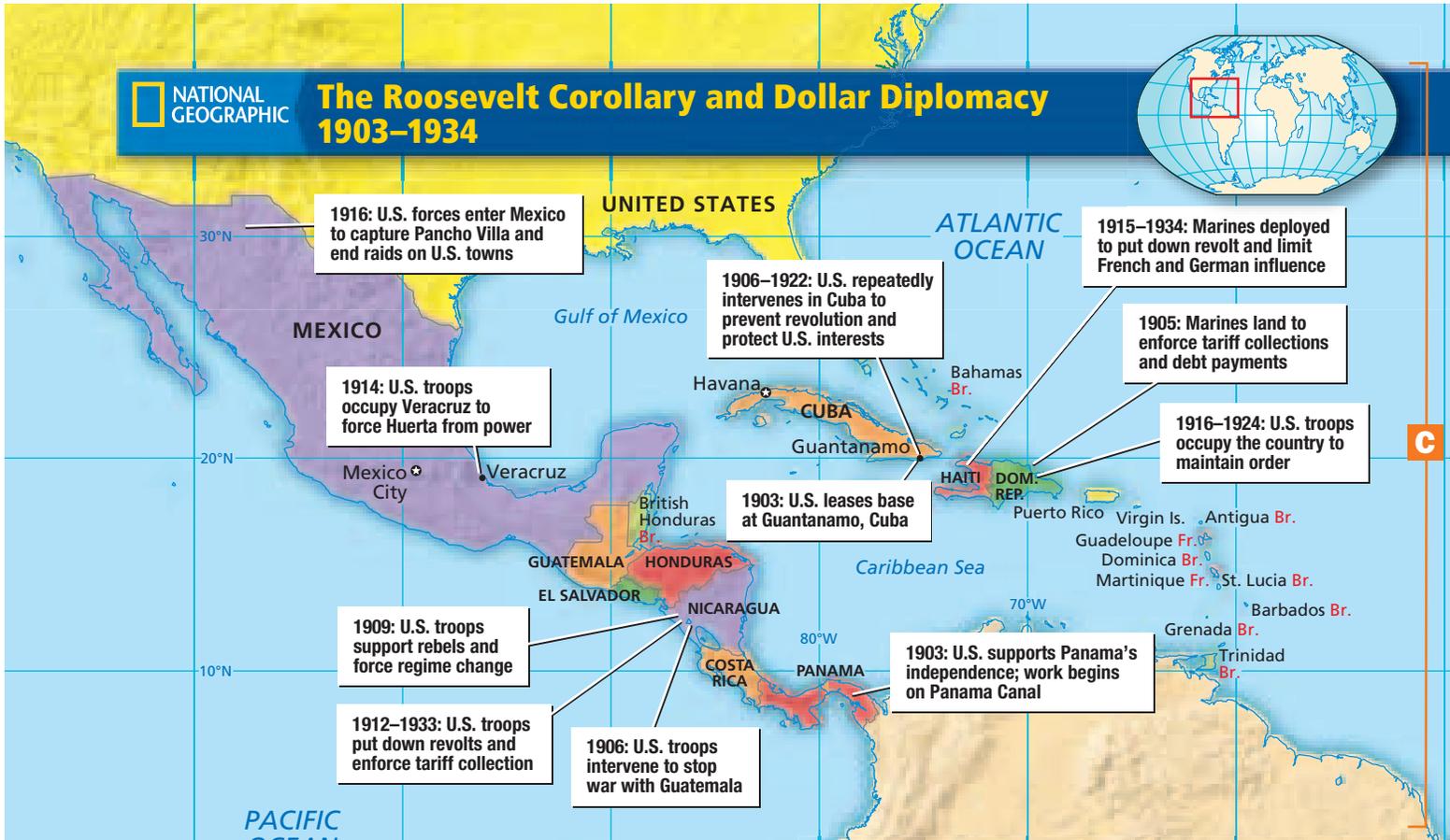
PRIMARY SOURCE

"Chronic wrongdoing . . . may, in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power."

—quoted in *The Growth of the United States*

The goal of the Roosevelt Corollary was to prevent European powers from using the debt problems of Latin America to justify intervening in the region. The United States first applied the Roosevelt Corollary in the

The Roosevelt Corollary and Dollar Diplomacy 1903–1934



Analyzing VISUALS

- Analyzing** Based on the map, what are the main reasons the United States intervened in Latin American states?
- Inferring** Where did the United States invest the most money in Latin America? Why do you think this happened?

Dominican Republic, which had fallen behind on its debt payments to European nations. In 1905 the United States assumed the responsibility of collecting customs tariffs in the Dominican Republic, using the United States Marine Corps as its agent.

Dollar Diplomacy

Latin American nations resented the growing American influence in the region, but Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft, continued his policies. Taft placed much less emphasis on military force and more on helping Latin American industry. He believed that

if American business leaders supported Latin American development, everyone would benefit. American businesses would increase their trade and profits, and countries in Latin America would rise out of poverty and social disorder. Taft's policy came to be called **dollar diplomacy**.

Administration officials also worked hard to replace European loans with loans from American banks. The goal of this policy was to give the Europeans fewer reasons to intervene in Latin American affairs. During Taft's administration, American bankers took over debts that Honduras owed to Britain and took control of Haiti's national bank.

Although Taft described his brand of diplomacy as “substituting dollars for bullets,” in Nicaragua he used both. American bankers began making loans to Nicaragua to support its shaky government in 1911. The following year, civil unrest forced the Nicaraguan president to appeal for greater assistance. American marines entered the country, replaced the collector of customs with an American agent, and formed a committee of two Americans and one Nicaraguan to control the customs commissions. American troops stayed to support both the government and customs until 1925.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What was Roosevelt’s view of the role of the United States in the world and how did he implement it?

Woodrow Wilson’s Diplomacy in Mexico

MAIN Idea Wilson believed in “moral diplomacy” and tried to encourage democracy in Latin America.

HISTORY AND YOU Can you think of a country today that is going through a long civil war? Read how the United States became involved in the Mexican Revolution.

“It would be the irony of fate,” remarked Woodrow Wilson just before he was inaugurated in 1913, “if my administration had to deal chiefly with foreign affairs.” Wilson had written books on state government, Congress, and George Washington, as well as a five-volume history of the nation. His experience and interest were in domestic policy. He was a university professor before entering politics. He also was a committed progressive. However, foreign affairs did absorb much of Wilson’s time and energy as president.

Wilson opposed imperialism and resolved to “strike a new note in international affairs” and see that “sheer honesty and even unselfishness . . . should prevail over nationalistic self-seeking in American foreign policy.” He also believed that democracy was essential to a nation’s stability and prosperity. To ensure a world free of revolution and war, the United States should promote democracy. During Wilson’s presidency, however, other forces frustrated his hope to lead the world by moral example. In fact, Wilson’s first international crisis was awaiting him when he took office.

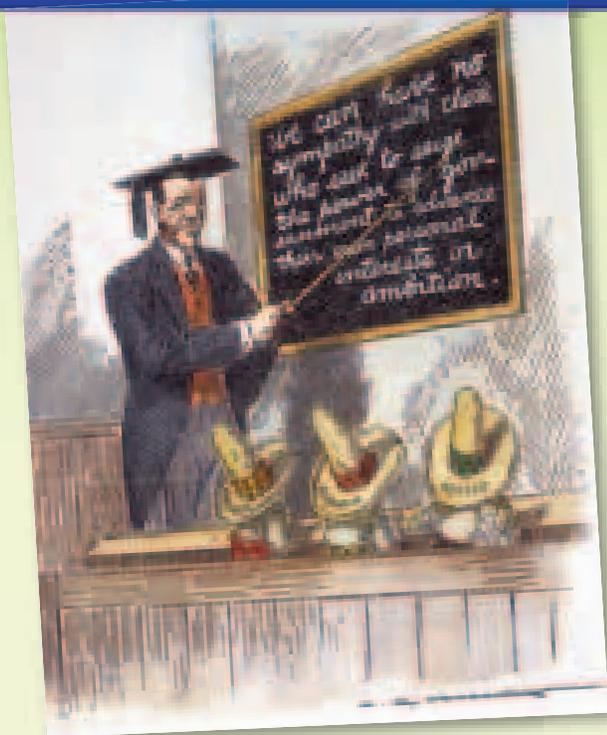
The Mexican Revolution

For more than 30 years, Porfirio Díaz ruled Mexico as a dictator. During his reign, Mexico became much more industrialized, but foreign investors owned and financed the new railroads and factories that were built. Most Mexican citizens remained poor and landless. In 1911 widespread discontent erupted into revolution.

Francisco Madero, a reformer who appeared to support democracy, constitutional government, and land reform, led the revolution. Madero, however, proved to be an unskilled administrator. Worried about Madero’s plans for land reform, conservative forces plotted

POLITICAL CARTOON PRIMARY SOURCE

Wilson and Mexico



▲ President Wilson (who had a Ph.D.) is shown teaching Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Mexico that revolution for personal gain is wrong, while Mexico is shown hiding a note labeled “How to create a revolution.”

Analyzing VISUALS

- Analyzing** In what ways is the cartoon making fun of President Wilson?
- Inferring** What is the cartoon implying about Mexico?

Section 3 REVIEW

against him. In February 1913, General **Victoriano Huerta** seized power; Madero was murdered, presumably on Huerta's orders.

Huerta's brutality repulsed Wilson, who refused to recognize the new government. Instead, Wilson announced a new policy. Groups that seized power in Latin America would have to set up "a just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force," in order to win American recognition. Wilson was convinced that, without the support of the United States, Huerta soon would be overthrown. Meanwhile, Wilson ordered the navy to intercept arms shipments to Huerta's government. He also permitted Americans to arm Huerta's opponents.

Wilson Sends Troops Into Mexico

In April 1914, American sailors visiting the city of Tampico were arrested after entering a restricted area. Although they were quickly released, their American commander demanded an apology. The Mexicans refused. Wilson saw the refusal as an opportunity to overthrow Huerta. He asked Congress to authorize the use of force, and shortly after Congress passed the resolution, he learned that a German ship was unloading weapons at the Mexican port of Veracruz. Wilson immediately ordered American warships to shell the Veracruz harbor and then sent marines to seize the city.

Although the president expected the Mexican people to welcome his action, anti-American riots broke out. Wilson then accepted international mediation to settle the dispute. Venustiano Carranza, whose forces had acquired arms from the United States, became Mexico's president.

Mexican forces opposed to Carranza were not appeased, and they conducted raids into the United States, hoping to force Wilson to intervene. In March 1916, **Pancho Villa** (VEE•yah) and a group of **guerrillas**—an armed band that uses surprise attacks and sabotage rather than open warfare—burned the town of Columbus, New Mexico, and killed 16 Americans. Wilson responded by sending 6,000 troops under General John J. Pershing across the border to find and capture Villa. The expedition dragged on with no success. Wilson's growing concern over the war raging in Europe finally caused him to recall Pershing's troops in 1917.

Wilson's Mexican policy damaged U.S. foreign relations. The British ridiculed the president's attempt to "shoot the Mexicans into self-government." Latin Americans regarded his "moral imperialism" as no improvement over Theodore Roosevelt's "big stick" diplomacy. In fact, Wilson followed Roosevelt's example in the Caribbean. In 1914 he negotiated exclusive rights for naval bases and a canal with Nicaragua. In 1915 he sent marines into Haiti to put down a rebellion. The marines remained there until 1934. In 1916 he sent troops into the Dominican Republic to preserve order and to set up a government he hoped would be more stable and democratic than the current regime.

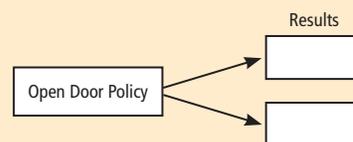
Reading Check **Examining** Why did President Wilson intervene in Mexico?

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: sphere of influence, Open Door policy, Boxer Rebellion, Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, Roosevelt Corollary, dollar diplomacy, Victoriano Huerta, Pancho Villa, guerrilla.

Main Ideas

2. **Summarizing** Use a graphic organizer to list the results of the Open Door policy.



3. **Identifying** Why did President Theodore Roosevelt want to increase U.S. influence overseas?
4. **Specifying** How did Latin Americans view Wilson's "moral imperialism"?

Critical Thinking

5. **Big Ideas** Why did the United States decide to build a canal through Panama? How did Roosevelt assist Panama in becoming independent?
6. **Analyzing** How did the Roosevelt Corollary and dollar diplomacy affect U.S. relations with other countries?
7. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the map on page 281. To which countries did the U.S. send troops most often?

Writing About History

8. **Expository Writing** Imagine that you are a Mexican citizen during Wilson's presidency. Write a radio news broadcast expressing your feelings about American actions in Mexico.

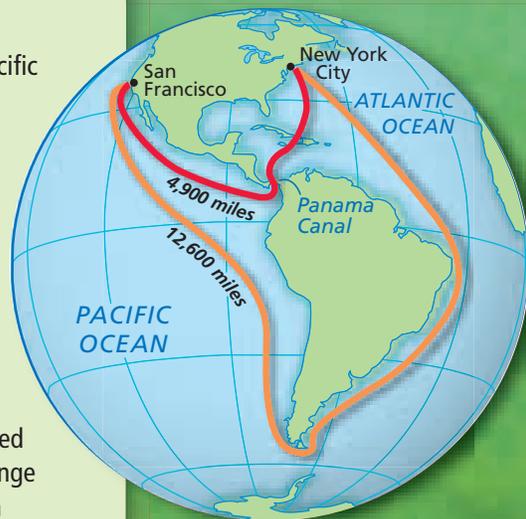
History ONLINE

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GEOGRAPHY & HISTORY

The Panama Canal

The idea of a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans had been around for a long time before a French company began digging a canal across Panama in 1882. Disease and mudslides killed more than 20,000 workers before financial setbacks halted construction. In the early 1900s, the United States negotiated rights to build the canal with Columbia (Panama was part of Columbia at that time), but Columbia's Senate refused to ratify the treaty. With the support of the United States, Panama declared independence from Columbia and signed a treaty giving the United States a perpetual lease on the canal site in exchange for \$10 million and annual payments. Construction resumed in 1904 and the canal was opened in 1914.



R

How Does Geography Affect the Canal?

Before the canal opened, ships sailing from New York to San Francisco traveled 12,600 miles (20,277 km) around the treacherous tip of South America. Afterwards, the trip was only 4,900 miles (7,886 km) and could be completed in less than half the time. Panama's geography made building the canal a challenge because the center of the country was much higher than sea level. Engineers built a series of lakes and concrete locks to raise and lower ships as they traveled the 51-mile canal. In each chamber of the locks, some 26 million gallons of water are pumped in or drained out in only 7 minutes to raise or lower a ship. At the artificial Gatun Lake, a dam generates electricity that powers the locks while gravity adjusts the water level.

Ships transit the canal more than 14,000 times each year, generating over \$1 billion in tolls.

Analyzing GEOGRAPHY

- 1. Human-Environment Interaction** How were the geographical features of Panama used or overcome in order to build the canal?
- 2. Location** Why do you think the Panama site was ultimately selected for the canal?

Pacific Ocean

Panama City •

Atlantic Ocean

Pacific Ocean

Miraflores Locks

Pedro Miguel Lock

Lake Gatún

Gatún Locks

Atlantic Ocean

Cross Section of the Panama Canal

Gatún Dam created Lake Gatún—one of the largest artificial lakes in the world. A hydroelectric station at the dam generates power to run the pumps and gates of the locks.

Gatún Locks has 3 chambers for each direction. Together they raise ships at sea level up 86 feet to the level of Lake Gatún.

Lake Gatún

• Colón



▲ The Miraflores locks (above) are one of three sets of locks on the Panama Canal, and the first set for ships entering from the Pacific. After a ship enters a lock chamber, water is pumped in raising the ship up 27 feet to the next level. The ship then moves to the next chamber and is raised another 27 feet.

Chapter 7 VISUAL SUMMARY



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Causes of American Imperialism

- The United States wanted new markets for its products, particularly its manufactured goods.
- Many Americans believed it was the destiny of the United States to spread its power and civilization to other parts of the world.
- American leaders believed that having a powerful navy and controlling trade were key to being a world power.

► *USS Texas docks in port in 1896*



▲ *American soldiers in Cuba cheer the news that the city of Santiago, Cuba, has surrendered during the Spanish-American War, 1898.*

Effects of the Spanish-American War

- Cuba officially became an independent nation, although the United States claimed control over its foreign relations and exerted influence over internal politics.
- The United States acquired Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.
- Americans debated the morality and wisdom of becoming an imperial nation.
- The United States fought a three-year war to secure control over the Philippines.

The United States Acts As a World Power

- The United States used diplomatic means to establish the Open Door policy in China.
- President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated a peace agreement between Russia and Japan.
- The United States completed construction of the Panama Canal.
- The United States intervened, with the intent to provide stability, in the affairs of several Caribbean nations.
- The United States twice intervened in the lengthy Mexican Revolution.



▲ *After supporting a revolution in Panama, the United States begins construction of the Panama Canal.*